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FOLLOWING REPEAT ADDIS ABABA 0495 ACTION SECSTATE
INFO ALL OAU CAPITALS ASMARA BONN LISBON LONDON
MOSCOW PARIS PRETORIA PEKING 14 JANUARY 76.

QUOTE

S E C R E T ADDIS ABABA 0495

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR AO OAU

SUBJECT: OBSERVATIONS ON OAU SESSION

HERE FOLLOW PRELIMINARY EMBASSY OBSERVATIONS ON OAU SESSION.
MIXTURE OF SOURCES INCLUDES AFRICANS, ADDIS DIP CORPS, AND
EMBASSY'S OWN SURMISES.

1. THE OAU AND AFRICAN UNITY HAVE BEEN HURT, BUT THE OAU
SURVIVES. TIME HAS BEEN GAINED FOR CONCILIATORY EFFORTS AS
WELL AS FOR FURTHER MPLA/SOV/CUBAN INROADS.

2. ALTHOUGH LEVEL OF POSTURING ON GROUNDS OF IDEOLOGY REMAINED
HIGH ON PART OF SOME PRO-MPLA FORCES, THERE WAS SATISFACTORY
LEVEL OF CONCERN FOR REAL-XLIFE SITUATION IN ANGOLA ON PART OF
ANTI-MPLA GROUP. THIS ATTENTION TO PRACTICAL REALITIES --
INCLUDING OAU'S INABILITY TO IMPOSE A SOLUTION OVER

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OPPOSITION OF PRINCIPALS--INCREASES CHANCES FOR

CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE WITHIN OAU ON OTHER ISSUES IN FUTURE.

3. FOR FIRST TIME THAT WE AWARE OF, MODERATES HELD FAST AND WITHSTOOD THE ASSAULTS OF RADICALS. IN PAST, RADICALS BY SHEER FORCE OF RHETORIC HAVE USUALLY CARRIED THE DAY. HOWEVER, RADICAL STEAMROLLER AND MPLA BANDWAGON DID NOT DEVELOP. WE ESTIMATE THAT SOME ON THE PRO-MPLA SIDE WERE ALSO AWARE THAT RECOGNITION OF THE MPLA WOULD HELP CEMENT THE DIVISION OF ANGOLA, A SOLUTION REPUGNANT TO MANY.

4. MANY CONSIDER MEETING A SETBACK FOR MPLA FACTION, ALTHOUGH NOT NECESSARILY A VICTORY FOR UNITA/FNLA. THIS MAY FORCE THE MPLA, WHICH CAME TO ADDIS BELIEVING IT WAS DEALING FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH, INTO A MORE CONCILIATORY STANCE.

5. FOR FIRST TIME IN A CONTENTIOUS OAU ISSUE THERE WAS NO PERCEPTIBLE ARAB VS. BLACK AFRICAN DIMENTION TO THE CONTROVERSY (EXCEPT FOR ALGERIA'S ROLE, BELOW). ARABS WERE JUST SPLIT AS BLACK AFRICANS.

6. THREATS WERE FREELY USED BY FACTIONS. WE SUSPECT BUT CANNOT PROVE THAT BRIBERY WAS ALSO USED BY PRO-MPLA GROUP (INCLUDING SOVS AND CUBANS). NEW ENEMIES WERE MADE AMONG OAU COUNTRIES AS RESULT OF HIGH LEVEL OF ACRIMONY. THERE WERE NOTABLE DISINFORMATION EFFORTS.

7. A NUMBER OF PRO-MPLA COUNTRIES SHOWED SURPRISING DEGREE OF FLEXIBILITY IN PRIVATE BARGAINING, AT SHARP VARIANCE WITH THEIR PUBLIC SPEECHES. HOWEVER, THAT "FLEXIBILITY" WAS NOT SUFFICIENT TO ALLOW AGREEMENT ON GOVT OF NATIONAL UHITY BY ABANDONING DEMAND FOR RECOGNITION OF ONE-FACTION MPLA GOVT.

8. PARTICULAR STICKING POINTS WERE: CEASE-FIRE, GOVT OF NATIONAL UNITY AND CONDEMNATION OF ALL FOREIGN INTERVENTION (ON WHICH PRO-MPLA SIDE REFUSED TO GIVE AN INCH), CONDEMNATION OF SOUTH AFRICA FELL VICTIM AT LAST MINUTE TO ANTI-MPLA INTRANSIGENCE. TO EVERYONE'S SURPRISE MODERATE POSITION SO ROCK-HARD THEY WERE ONLY WILLING TO CONDEMN SOUTH AFRICA IF MPLA

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PARTISANS AGREED TO CONDEMN SOVIET/CUBAN INTERVENTION.

9. HARD CORE OF PRO-MPLA INTRANSIGENTS (ASIDE FROM MPLA DELEGATION ITSELF AND SOVIETS/CUBANS) WAS GUINEA AND ALGERIA, WHO REFUSED EVEN TO DISCUSS ANY COMPROMISE. WE THINK BUT ARE NOT CERTAIN THAT ALGERIANS OVERPLAYED THEIR HAND; A HIGHLY RELIABLE SOURCE WAS TOLD FLATLY BY ALGERIAN CHIEF DELZGATE (MIN COMMUNICATIONS) THAT ALGERIA COULD NOT CARE LESS ABOUT OAU

UNITY, AND IN FACT WELCOMED SPLIT IN OAU. WHETHER THIS ALGERIAN ATTITUDE IN THIS CASE IS WIDELY KNOWN AMONG AFRICANS WE DO NOT YET KNOW, BUT WOULD COME AS NO SURPRISE TO A NUMBER OF AFRICANS WHO ARE FED UP WITH SPOILING TACTICS OF ALGERIA ON OTHER ISSUES.

10 INFORMANTS SO FAR HAVE INDICATED THAT USG POLICY WAS SUBJECT OF SURPRISINGLY LITTLE CONTROVERSY IN CORRIDOR DISCUSSIONS. WE SHOULD NOT BE COMPLACENT, HOWEVER, BECAUSE ONE REASON MAY BE THAT MANY AFRICANS HAVE NEGATIVE PRECEPTION OF USG ATTITUDE TOWARD AFRICA (PARTICULARLY ON SOUTH AFRICA) AND FEEL NO NEED TO ARGUE ABOUT IT.

11. IT IS CLEAR ALREADY THAT SOME PRO-MPLA PARTISANS ARE TRYING TO PLACE BLAME FOR OAU FAILURE ON USG. EXPLICIT DOUBLE STANDARD IS BEING USED, EXCUSING VIOLENT USSR DIATRIBES AND MACHINATIONS, WHILE CRITICIZING MODERATE AND REASONABLE USG STATEMENTS OF USG POLICY AS BEING "UNWARRANTED INTERFERENCE".

12. THE STRUGGLE IN OAU IS FAR FROM FINISH, AND PRO-MPLA COUNTRIES ARE STILL TRYING TO OBTAIN MAJORITY (I.E., 24) FOR MPLA AFTER WHICH THEY WILL ATTEMPT TO FORCE OAU TO DECLARE THAT MPLA HAS BEEN RECOGNIZED AS ANGOLAN GOVT. THESE COUNTEIS ARE ASSERTING THAT THERE IS NO GROUND FOR DECLARING "ADMISSION OF A NEW MEMBER"--A CREDENTIALS QUESTION-AS AN IMPORTANT QUESTION REQUIRING TWO-THIRDS.

13. INFO ADDRESSEES WILL REALIZE THAT THIS MESSAGE DOES NOT CONSTITUTE USG GUIDANCE ON HOW TO DISCUSS OAU WITH FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS, WHICH WILL HAVE TO COME FROM WASHINGTON. EMBASSY WOULD WELCOME OTHER VIEWS AND ASSESSMENTS FROM DEPT AND EMBASSIES.

HUMMEL UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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